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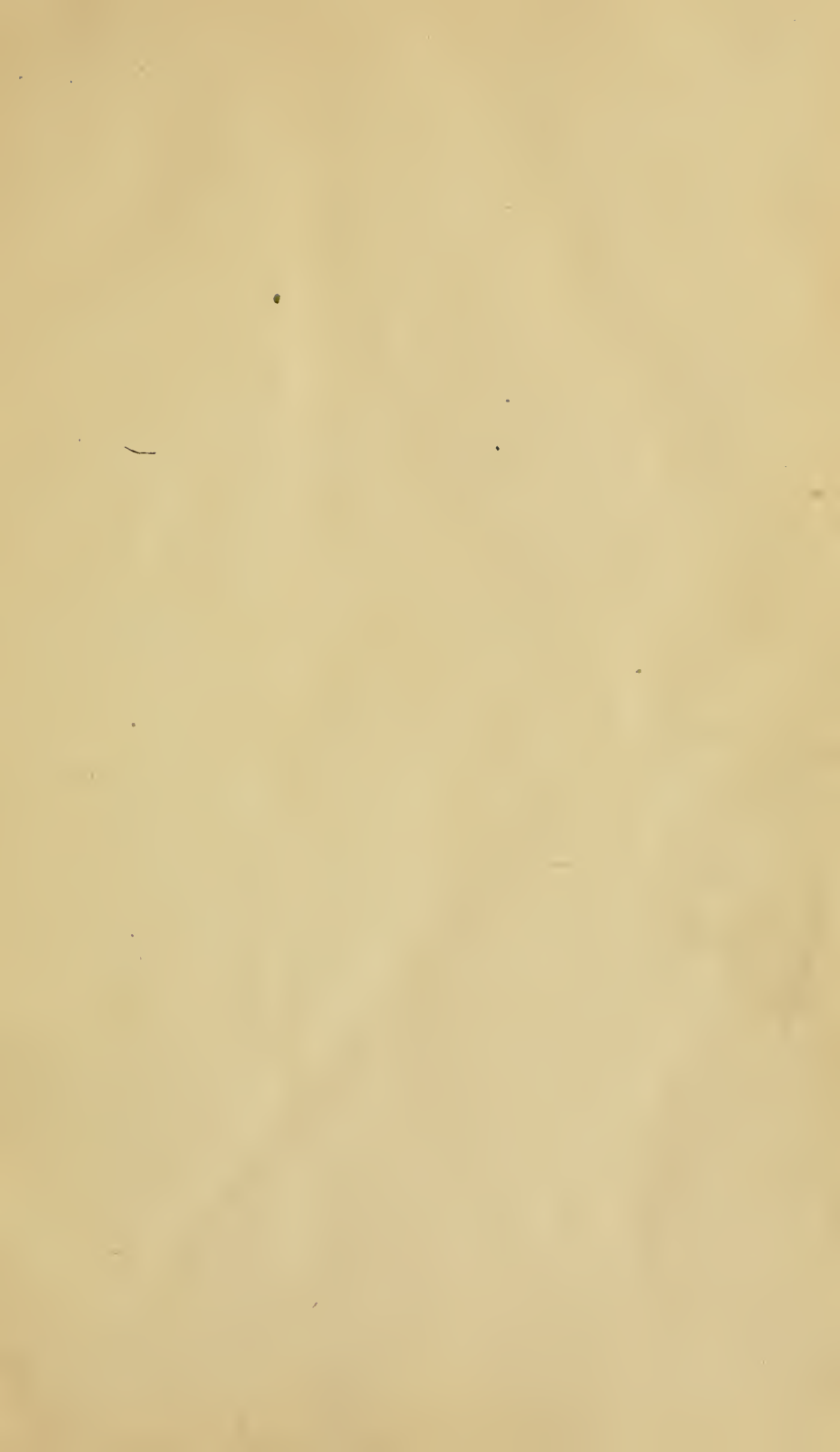
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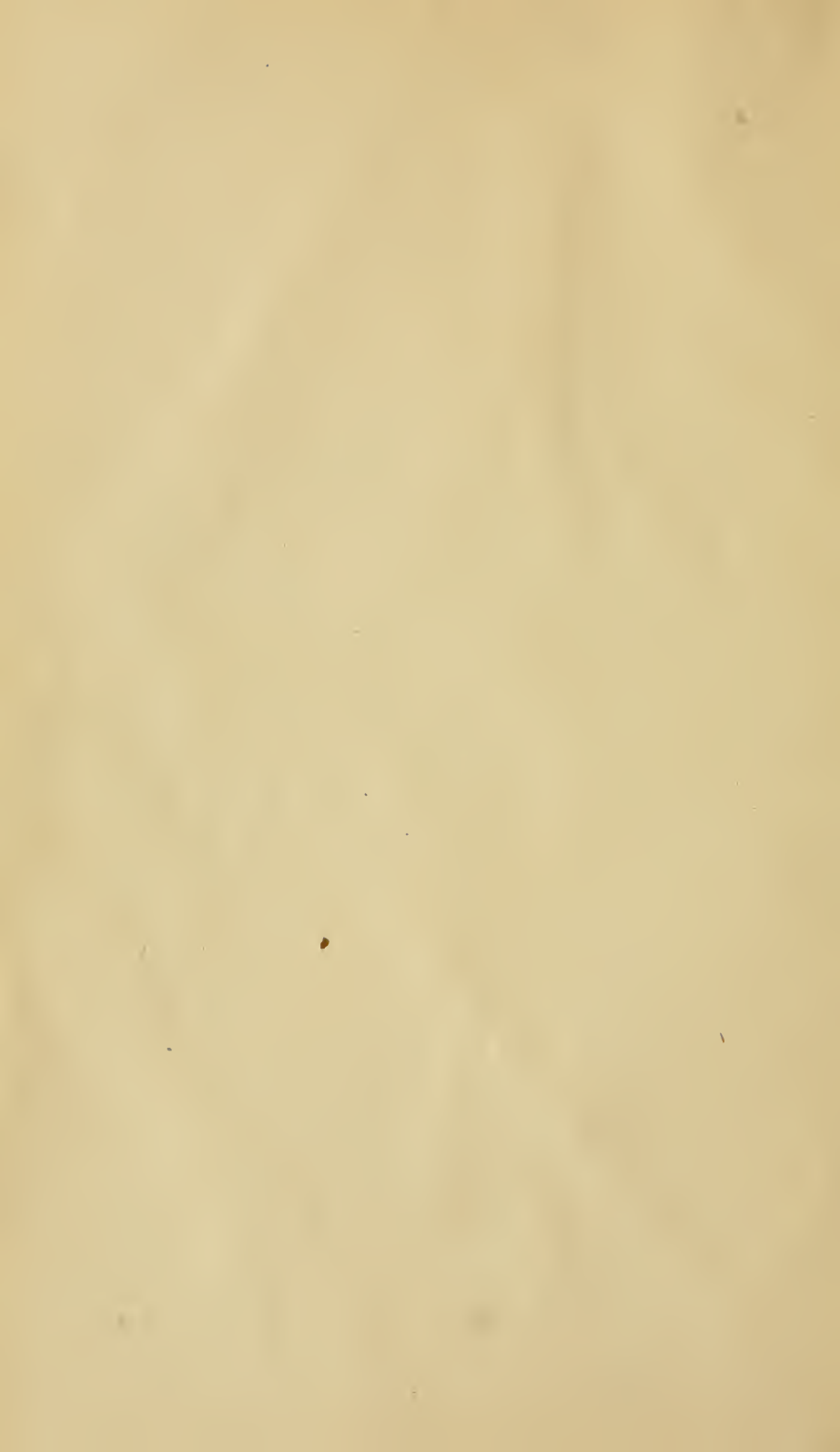
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







ORATION

DELIVERED BY

✓
GEORGE F. HOAR,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

APRIL 7, 1888,

AT

THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL

OF THE

FOUNDING OF THE NORTHWEST

AT

MARIETTA, OHIO.

WASHINGTON, D. C. :
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ORATION OF GEORGE F. HOAR.

There are doubtless many persons in this audience who have gathered here as to their Father's house. They salute their Mother on her birthday with the prayer and the confident hope that the life which now completes its first century may be immortal as liberty. If we were here only to do honor to Marietta—to celebrate the planting of this famous town, coeval with the Republic, seated by the beautiful river, her annals crowded with memories of illustrious soldiers and statesmen—this assemblage would be well justified and accounted for.

But there is far more than this in the occasion. The states which compose what was once the Northwest Territory may properly look upon this as their birthday rather than that on which they were admitted into the Union. The company who came to Marietta with Rufus Putnam April 7, 1788, came to found, not one state, but five, whose institutions they demanded should be settled before they started by an irrevocable compact. These five children, born of a great parentage and in a great time, are, as we count the life of nations, still in earliest youth. Yet they already contain within themselves all the resources of a great empire. Here is the stimulant climate of the temperate zone, where brain and body are at their best. Here will be a population of more than fifteen millions at the next census. Here is an area about equal to that of the Austrian Empire, and larger than that of any other country in Europe except Russia. Here is a wealth more than three times that of any country on this continent except the Republic of which they are a part—a wealth a thousand times that of Massachusetts, including Maine, a hundred years ago; one-third larger than that of Spain; equal to that of Holland and Belgium and

Denmark combined; equal now, I suppose, to that of Italy; already half as great as that of the vast Empire of Russia, with its population of more than a hundred millions, whose possessions cover a sixth part of the habitable globe. Below the earth are exhaustless stores of iron, and coal, and salt, and copper. Above, field, and farm, and forest, can easily feed and clothe and shelter the entire population of Europe, with her sixty empires, kingdoms, and republics.

The yearly product of the manufacture of these five states is estimated by the best authorities at from twelve to fifteen hundred millions of dollars. Everything needed for a perfect workshop in all the mechanic and manufacturing arts has nature fashioned and gathered here, within easy reach, as nowhere else on earth. These states had, in 1886, forty-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three miles of railway; equal, within two hundred miles, to that of Great Britain and France combined; nearly three times that of Austria or Russia, and about twice that of Germany. While mighty rivers and mightier lakes already bear along their borders a commerce rivaling that of the ports of the Old World, to fair cities and prosperous towns, each one of which has its own wonderful and fascinating story. And above all this, and better than all this, man, the noblest growth this soil supplies, descended of a great race, from which he has inherited the love of liberty, the sense of duty, the instinct of honor, is here to relate and celebrate his century of stainless history. Whatever of these things nature has not given is to be traced directly to the institutions of civil and religious liberty the wisdom of your fathers established; above all, to the great Ordinance. As the great jurist and statesman of Ohio said more than fifty years ago: "The spirit of the Ordinance of 1787 pervades them all." Here was the first human government under which absolute civil and religious liberty has always prevailed. Here no witch was ever hanged or burned. No heretic was ever molested. Here no slave was ever born or dwelt. When older states or nations, where

the chains of human bondage have been broken, shall utter the proud boast, "With a great sum obtained I this freedom," each sister of this imperial group—Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin—may lift her queenly head with the yet prouder answer "But I was free-born."

They were destined, also, to determine the character and decide the fate of the great Republic of which they are a part, and, through that, of constitutional liberty on earth. In saying this I speak with careful consideration of the meaning of the words. I wish, above all things, on this occasion, to avoid extravagance. I hope that what is said here may bear the examination of students of history in this most skeptical and critical age, and may be recalled on this spot, without a blush, by those who shall come after us, for many a future centennial.

There is no better instance than this of the effect of well-ordered liberty on the fortune of a people. Nature is no respecter of persons in her bounty. The buried race who built yonder mound dwelt here for ages, under the same sky, on the bank of the same river, with the same climate and soil. We know not who they were. Their institutions and government, their arts and annals, have perished in a deeper oblivion than that which covers the builders of the Pyramids—which moved Sir Thomas Browne to his sublimest utterance: "History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveler, as he paceth amazedly through these deserts, asketh of her, Who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not." The Indian and the Frenchman dwelt here, but could not hold their place. The growth of city and town and country, the wealth of the soil and the mine, the commerce of lake and river, the happiness and virtue of the fireside, the culture of the college, the three million children at school, the statute book on whose page there is no shame, are due to the great and wise men who gave you, as your birthday gift, universal liberty, universal suffrage, equal rights, and inviolable faith.

There is no obscurity in the date or in the transaction. History pours upon the event its blazing sunlight. We see it, in all its relations, more clearly than it was seen by those who took part in it; more clearly than we behold the events of our own time. No passion disturbs our judgment, leading us either to exaggerate or depreciate. There is room for no feeling in our bosoms to-day but an honorable pride in our ancestry and an honorable love of our country. "It is a tale brief and familiar to all; for the examples by which you may still be happy are to be found, not abroad, men of Athens, but at home."

History furnishes countless examples in every age of heroic achievement and of great enterprise in war and peace, wisely conducted to successful issue. But the events which men remember and celebrate, which become the household words and stirring memories of nations, the sacred Olympiads by which time is measured, and from which eras take their date, are those which mark the great advances of Liberty on to new ground which she has held. Such, by unanimous consent of the race to which we belong, are the enactment of Magna Charta, the compact on board the Mayflower, the Declaration of Independence, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, and later, in our own day, the Proclamation of Emancipation. I believe the event which you celebrate is not behind any one of these, whether in good fortune as to time, in the character of the actors, in the wisdom which guided them, or in the far-reaching beneficence of the result.

I am speaking to men who know their own history. I can but repeat—we gather on such occasions but to repeat—familiar stories—

"Our lips must tell them to our sons,
And they again to theirs."

You know better than I do the miracle of history which brought the founders of the Northwest to this spot at the

precise time when alone they could bring with them the institutions which moulded its destiny. A few years earlier or a few years later and the great Ordinance would have been impossible.

Look for a moment at the forty-eight men who came here a hundred years ago to found the first American civil government, whose jurisdiction did not touch tide-water. See what manner of men they were; in what school they had been trained; what traditions they had inherited. I think you must agree that of all the men who ever lived on earth fit to perform that "ancient, primitive, and heroical work," the founding of a state, they were the fittest. Puritanism, as a distinct, vital, and predominant power, endured less than a century in England. It appears early in the reign of Elizabeth, who came to the throne in 1558, and departs at the restoration of Charles II, in 1660. But in that brief time it was the preserver, and may almost be called the creator, of English freedom. The Puritans created the modern English House of Commons. That House, when they took their seats in it, was the feeble and timid instrument of despotism. When they left it, it was what it has ever since been, the strongest, freest, most venerable legislative body the world had ever seen. When they took their seats in it, it was little more than the register of the King's command. When they left it, it was the main depository of the national dignity and the national will. King, and minister, and prelate, who stood in their way, they brought to the bar and to the block. In that brief but crowded century they had made the name of Englishman the highest title of honor upon earth. A great historian has said "the dread of their invincible army was on all the inhabitants of the Island." He might have added, the dread of their invincible leader was on all the inhabitants of Europe.

Puritanism had not spent itself as a force in England when it crossed the sea with Bradford and Winthrop. What a genius for creating the institutions of liberty and laying

deep the foundations of order was in that handful of men who almost at the same instant framed the first written constitution that ever existed, and devised the New England town, that unmatched mechanism of local self-government, which has survived every dynasty in Europe and existed for two centuries and a half almost without a change.

The forty-one men who landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth and the forty-eight men who came down the Ohio in the Mayflower to Marietta were of the same race and the same faith. It was one hundred and sixty-eight years from the planting of the Puritan Commonwealth to the founding of the great Northwest, destined so soon to become, and, as it seems, forever to remain, the seat and center of empire on this continent. But in the meantime that faith had been broadened, and softened, and liberalized. The training of the race in that mighty gymnasium had changed the spirit of English Puritanism into the spirit of American liberty.

To Americans there is no more delightful and instructive study than to trace the hand of a divine Providence in that agelong development of the capacity to take their full and leading part in the achievement of independence, in building the states, in laying the foundation of empire in the little English sect, contending at first only for bare toleration. See how the Power which planted the coal, whose subtle chemistry gets ready the iron for the use of the new race, which dismisses the star on its pathway through the skies, promising that in a thousand years it shall return again true to its hour, and keeps his word, gets his children ready that they shall not fail in the appointed time for the fulfillment of his high design.

First. The history of the men who founded Ohio and of their ancestors since they landed at Plymouth and Salem was essentially a military history. It was a training which developed, more than any other, the best quality of the individual soldier, whether for command or for service. There never was West Point education like that of this military

school. Lord Chatham declared to the House of Lords in 1777: "America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death. I venture to tell your Lordships that the American gentry will make officers fit to command the troops of all the European powers."

To many of them it was a life under arms. Every boy was a sharp-shooter. The Indian wars, where, as Fisher Ames said, heroes are not celebrated, but are formed; the great struggle with France, from whose glory and victory your fathers were never absent, of which a continent was the prize; the great wars of William and Mary and of Queen Anne; Fort Edward; William Henry; Crown Point; Martinique; the Havana; twice-captured Louisburg, which they took the second time with its own cannon; Quebec, where they heard the shout of triumph which filled the dying ear of Wolfe, and where at last the lilies went down before the lion, never again, but for a brief period in Louisiana, to float as an emblem of dominion over any part of the American continent—these were the school-rooms of their discipline. Whatever share others may have taken, the glory of that contest is your fathers' glory; that victory is your fathers' victory. Then came twelve years of hollow and treacherous truce, and then—the Revolution.

Second. It was not to the school of war alone that God put these his master-builders of States. For a century and a half every man played his part where the most important functions were those managed most directly by the people under a system which, in all domestic affairs, was self-government in everything but name. They introduced all the great social changes which prepared the way for the Republic and made it inevitable. As has already been said, they adopted the first written social compact and devised the town system. They also abolished primogeniture, which act, Mr. Webster declared, "fixed the future frame and form of their government." De Tocqueville says: "The law of descent

was the last step to equality. When the legislator has regulated the law of inheritance he may rest from his labor. The machine once put in motion will go on for ages and advance, as if self-guided, toward a given point." They established universal education. They incorporated into their state the ancient customs of Kent, by virtue of which every child was born free and the power asserted to devise estates free from all feudal burdens. They also abolished entails.

Third. During this whole time the resources of a skillful statesmanship were taxed to the utmost to maintain their free institutions against the power of England, where every dynasty in turn—Stuart, Cromwell, Hanover—looked jealously upon the infant Commonwealths. The Massachusetts charter conferred upon the colony the power only of making laws not repugnant to the laws of England, and reserved a veto to the crown. The Puritan magistrates shrewdly resisted the desire of their people for a code and contrived that these great changes should, as far as might be, be introduced as customs, so as not to be submitted to the authorities in England. The Massachusetts Body of Liberties was sent about from town to town in manuscript, and was never printed until 1843. There was never a time when the mighty power of England was not a menace to our ancestors, from the first settlement throughout the whole of that long strife which did not really come to an end until Jay's treaty and Anthony Wayne's victory on the Maumee in 1794.

Fourth. They had a religious belief which held that the law of God was the supreme practical rule in the conduct of States. However narrow and bigoted at times in its application, we find throughout their history a conscientious and reverent endeavor to govern their Commonwealth by this rule. Thus the theological discussions in which they delighted, the constant consideration of the relation of man to his Creator and to the supreme law of duty, became blended with that of their natural rights and their rights under the charter and the British constitution and of the true boundary

which separates liberty and authority in the State. So, when the time for Independence came, they had decided the Revolution in their great debate before a gun was fired. It is said the cannon of the Union armies in the late war were shotted with the reply to Hayne. The ammunition of the Continental soldiery in their earlier war for freedom came from the discussion of the pulpit and the farmer's fireside.

Fifth. There would have been at best but a provincial and narrow character had New England alone furnished the theater on which the scene was to be acted. The great drama of the Revolution brought her people under an influence to which they owe more than they have always acknowledged. I mean that of their allies and compatriots of the other colonies, who were their associates in that mighty struggle, especially that of Virginia. John Jay and Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and Gouverneur Morris, John Dickinson and Luther Martin were new and powerful teachers to the little communities, who, with every faculty of intellect and heart, were studying the fundamental principles of political science under Otis and the Adamses. But there now rose upon their sky the great Virginia constellation. If Virginia were held to the Union by no other tie she is forever bound to it by that tie, ever strongest to a generous spirit, the benefits she has conferred upon it. We shall see how her example of self-denial made possible the event we celebrate, and how the wisdom of her statesmen gave the event its character of far-reaching and perpetual beneficence. The teachers of New England now brought their pupils from the school where they had so well learned the principles of natural right and civil liberty to the great university where they were to take their degree in the building of states and framing constitutions under Washington and Jefferson, and Patrick Henry and Madison, and the Lees and Marshall. Within twelve years before the settlement at Marietta eleven of the thirteen States formed their constitutions. The con-

vention that framed the Constitution of the United States was in session when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed.

Sixth. This is by no means all. There is something more than the love of liberty—something more than the habit of successful resistance to oppression and the courage and power to assert the rights of mankind—needed to fit men to construct great states on sure foundations. The generation which was on the stage when the Northwest was planted had received another lesson. They had been taught the necessity of strengthening their political institutions, so that they should afford due security for property and social order and enable government to exert promptly the power needed for its own protection, without which it cannot long endure. Shay's insurrection in Massachusetts in 1787 was inspired mainly by the desire to prevent the enforcement of debts by the courts. To it was doubtless due the clause in the Ordinance of 1787—inserted also in the Constitution—forbidding the passage of any law impairing the obligation of contracts. The disrespect with which the Continental Congress is sometimes spoken of is most unjust. Its want of vigor was due to the limitation put upon its powers by the States, and to no want of wisdom or energy in its members. That body will ever hold a great place in history—if it had done nothing else—which declared Independence, which called Washington to the chief command, which begun its labors with the great state papers which Chatham declared surpassed the masterpieces of antiquity, and ended them with the Ordinance of 1787. But the States, jealous of all authority but their own, refused to confer on Congress the essential power of taxation and the means to enforce its own resolves. The effect of this short-sighted jealousy, in increasing and prolonging the burden of the war and in lowering the national character with foreign nations after it was over, the people had learned, to their great cost.

From all this experience there had come to the men who were on the stage in this country in 1787 an aptness for the

construction of constitutions and great permanent statutes such as the world never saw before or since. Their supremacy in this respect is as unchallenged as that of the great authors of the reign of Elizabeth in the drama.

Governor Stoughton said in 1668 that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into this wilderness." The quality of the grain continued to improve under his care. Never did the great Husbandman choose his seed more carefully than when he planted Ohio. I do not believe the same number of persons fitted for the highest duties and responsibilities of war and peace could ever have been found in a community of the same size as were among the men who founded Marietta in the spring of 1788, or who joined them within twelve months thereafter. "Many of our associates," said Varnum, on the first 4th of July, "are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue; and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well-informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics." "No colony in America," said Washington, "was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." "The best men in Connecticut and Massachusetts," writes Carrington to James Monroe, "a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory, and which will probably endure to the latest period of time." "I know them all," cried Lafayette, when the list of nearly fifty military officers, who were among the pioneers, was read to him in Marietta, in 1825, the tender memories of forty years thronging his aged bosom—"I know them all. I saw them at Brandywine, Yorktown, and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave." Washington and Varnum, as well as Carrington and Lafayette, dwell chiefly, as was Washington's fashion, upon the personal quality of the

men and not upon their public offices or titles. Indeed, to be named with such commendation, upon personal knowledge, by the cautious and conscientious Washington, was to a veteran soldier better than being knighted on the field of battle. They were the very best specimens of the New England character that could be found. They were among the most steadfast, constant, liberty-loving men that ever lived. Self-government had become to them a prime necessity of life; but it was that self-government, the sublimest thing in the universe except its Creator, by which a human will governs itself in obedience to a law higher than its own desire. They were men of a very sincere and simple religious faith. The belief in a personal immortality, that hope's perpetual breath, without which no gift of noblest origin ever cometh to man or nation, was to them a living reality. The scene which Burns describes in the Cottar's Saturday Night, from which he says, "Old Scotia's grandeur springs," was of nightly occurrence in the cabins of these soldiers and Indian-fighters.

The little company contained many military officers of high rank, men who had performed important exploits in war, friends and associates of Washington and Lafayette, and statesmen who had been leaders of the people in the days before the Revolution. If that assembly had been called, in the Providence of God, to assert the rights of Englishmen, as did the barons of Magna Charta; or to make an original social compact, as did the men on board the Mayflower; or to found towns and create a body of liberties and customs, as did the men of from 1620 to 1650; or to state the case between the fundamental rights of human nature and King George, as did the men of the Declaration in 1776; or to conduct and lead and plan a great defensive war, or to fashion a constitution for state or nation, they would have been equal to the task.

There are many names that rise to the lips to-day. The settlers are not here. But their children are here. The

men who knew them, or who have heard their story from the lips of fathers and mothers who knew them, are here. Your hearts are full of their memories. The stately figures of illustrious warriors and statesmen, the forms of sweet and comely matrons, living and real as if you had seen them yesterday, rise before you now. Varnum, than whom a courtlier figure never entered the presence of a Queen—soldier, statesman, scholar, orator,—whom Thomas Paine, no mean judge, who had heard the greatest English orators in the greatest days of English eloquence, declared the most eloquent man he had ever heard speak; Whipple, gallant seaman as ever trod a deck,—a man whom Farragut or Nelson would have loved as a brother; first of the glorious procession of American naval heroes; first to fire an American gun at the flag of England on the sea; first to unfurl the flag of his own country on the Thames; first pioneer of the river commerce of the Ohio to the Gulf; Meigs, hero of Sagg Harbor, of the march to Quebec, of the storming of Stony Point,—the Christian gentleman and soldier, whom the Cherokees named the White Path in token of the unfailing kindness and inflexible faith which had conveyed to their darkened minds some not inadequate conception of the spirit of Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life; Parsons, soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern war; the chivalric and ingenious Devol, said by his biographer to be “the most perfect figure of a man to be seen amongst a thousand;” the noble presence of Sproat; the sons of Israel Putnam and Manasseh Cutler; Fearing, and Greene, and Goodale, and the Gilmans; Tupper, leader in church and state,—the veteran of a hundred exploits, who seems, in the qualities of intellect and heart, like a twin brother of Rufus Putnam; the brave and patriotic, but unfortunate St. Clair, first Governor of the Northwest, president of the Continental Congress;—the mighty shades

of these heroes and their companions pass before our eyes, beneath the primeval forest, as the shades of the Homeric heroes before Ulysses in the Land of Asphodel. But no fable mingles with their story. No mythical legend of encounter with monster or dragon or heathen god exaggerates their heroism. There is no tale of she-wolf nurse, whose milk blended with the blood of their leader. The foe whose war-whoop woke the sleep of the cradle on the banks of the Muskingum needed no epic poet to add to his terrors. The she-wolf that mingled in your fathers' life was a very real animal. These men are in the full light of history. We can measure them, their strength and their weakness, with the precision of mathematics. They are the high-water mark of the American character thus far. Let their descendants give themselves up to the spirit of this great patriotic occasion and to the contemplation of their virtues, to form a reservoir of heroic thought and purpose to be ready when occasion comes.

It is said the founders were deceived and did not select the best place for their settlement. But it seemed a paradise to men from New England. Drowne, in the first anniversary oration, on the 7th of April, the day which the founders resolved should be "forever observed as a day of public festival in the territory of the Ohio Company," declared that "then this virgin soil received you first, alluring from your native homes by charms substantial and inestimable ;

"A wilderness of sweets ; for Nature here
Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art ; the gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils."

The exuberant eloquence of Varnum also failed him. He, too, could find nothing less than Milton's picture of Eden to express his transports.

As I have read the story of these brave men—of some of them for the first time—in the sober pages of Hildreth, the historian of the Pioneers, I could not help applying to Ohio the proud boast of Pericles concerning Athens: “Athens alone among her cotemporaries is superior to the report of her. Of how few Hellenes can it be said, as of them, that their deeds, when weighed in the balance, have been found equal to their fame.”

But what can be said which shall be adequate to the worth of him who was the originator, inspirer, leader, and guide of the Ohio settlement from the time when he first conceived it in the closing days of the Revolution until Ohio took her place in the Union as a free State, in the summer of 1803? Every one of that honorable company would have felt it as a personal wrong had he been told that the foremost honors of this occasion would not be given to Rufus Putnam. Lossing calls him “the Father of Ohio.” Burnet says “he was regarded as their principal chief and leader.” He was chosen the superintendent at the meeting of the Ohio Company, in Boston, November 21, 1787, “to be obeyed and respected accordingly.” The agents of the Company, when they voted in 1789 “that the 7th of April be forever observed as a public festival,” speak of it as “the day when General Putnam commenced the settlement in this country.” Harris dedicates the documents collected in his appendix to Rufus Putnam, “the founder and father of the State.” He was a man after Washington’s own pattern and after Washington’s own heart; of the blood and near kindred of Israel Putnam, the man who “dared to lead where any man dared to follow.” He was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, April 9, 1730. Like so many of the ablest men of his time, he was his own teacher. His passion for knowledge, especially mathematics and engineering, overcame the obstacle of early poverty. He was a veteran of the old French war, where his adventures sound like one of Cooper’s romances. He was made Lieutenant-Colonel of a Worcester county regiment at the outbreak of the Revolution

and joined the camp at Cambridge just after the battle of Lexington. His genius as an engineer was soon disclosed. He was, as Washington expressly and repeatedly certified, the ablest engineer officer of the war, whether American or Frenchman. He was soon called by a council of generals and field officers to direct the construction of a large part of the works on which the position of the army besieging Boston depended. He told Washington he had never read a word on that branch of science. But the chieftain would take no denial. He performed his task to the entire satisfaction of his commander, and was soon ordered to superintend the defenses of Providence and Newport.

One evening in the winter of 1776 Putnam was invited to dine at headquarters. Washington detained him after the company had departed to consult him about an attack on Boston. The general preferred an entrenchment on Dorchester Heights, which would compel Howe to attack him and risk another Bunker Hill engagement with a different result, to marching his own troops over the ice to storm the town. But the ground was frozen to a great depth and resisted the pick-axe like solid rock. Putnam was ordered to consider the matter, and if he could find any way to execute Washington's plan to report at once. He himself best tells the story of the accident—we may almost say the miracle—by which the deliverance of Massachusetts from the foreign invader, a veteran British army eleven thousand strong, was wrought by the instrumentality of the millwright's apprentice :

“ I left headquarters in company with another gentleman, and on our way came by General Heath's. I had no thoughts of calling until I came against his door, and then I said, ‘ Let us call on General Heath,’ to which he agreed. I had no other motive but to pay my respects to the general. While there, I cast my eye on a book which lay on the table, lettered on the back ‘ Muller's Field Engineer.’ I immediately requested the general to lend it to me. He denied

me. I repeated my request. He again refused, and told me he never lent his books. I then told him that he must recollect that he was one who, at Roxbury, in a measure compelled me to undertake a business which, at the time, I confessed I never had read a word about, and that he must let me have the book. After some more excuses on his part and close pressing on mine I obtained the loan of it."

In looking at the table of contents his eye was caught by the word "chandelier," a new word to him. He read carefully the description and soon had his plan ready. The chandeliers were made of stout timbers, ten feet long, into which were framed posts five feet high and five feet apart, placed on the ground in parallel lines and the open spaces filled in with bundles of fascines, strongly picketed together, thus forming a movable parapet of wood instead of earth, as heretofore done. The men were immediately set to work in the adjacent apple orchard and woodlands cutting and bundling up the fascines and carrying them with the chandeliers on to the ground selected for the work. They were put in their place in a single night.

When the sun went down on Boston on the 4th of March Washington was at Cambridge, and Dorchester Heights as nature or the husbandman had left them in the autumn. When Sir William Howe rubbed his eyes on the morning of the 5th he saw through the heavy mist the entrenchments, on which, he said, the rebels had done more work in a night than his whole army would have done in a month. He wrote to Lord Dartmouth that it must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men. His own effective force, including seamen, was but about eleven thousand. Washington had but fourteen thousand fit for duty. "Some of our officers," said the Annual Register—I suppose Edmund Burke was the writer—"acknowledged that the expedition with which these works were thrown up, with their sudden and unexpected appearance, recalled to their minds the wonderful stories of enchantment and in-

visible agency which are so frequent in the Eastern Romances." Howe was a man of spirit. He took the prompt resolution to attempt to dislodge the Americans the next night before their works were made impregnable. Earl Percy, who had learned something of Yankee quality at Bunker Hill and Lexington, was to command the assault. But the Power that dispersed the Armada baffled all the plans of the British general. There came "a dreadful storm at night," which made it impossible to cross the bay until the American works were perfected.

We take no leaf from the pure chaplet of Washington's fame when we say that the success of the first great military operation of the Revolution was due to Rufus Putnam. The Americans, under Israel Putnam, marched into Boston, drums beating and colors flying. The veteran British army, aided by a strong naval force, soldier and sailor, Englishman and Tory, sick and well, bag and baggage, got out of Boston before the strategy of Washington, the engineering of Putnam, and the courage of the despised and untried yeomen, from whose leaders they withheld the usual titles of military respect. "It resembled," said Burke, "more the emigration of a nation than the breaking up of a camp."

But it is no part of our task to-day to narrate the military service of General Putnam, although that includes the fortification of West Point, an important part in the capture of Burgoyne, and an able plan, made at the request of Washington, for putting the army on a peace establishment and for a chain of fortified military posts along the entire frontier. We have to do only with the entrenchments constructed under the command of this great engineer for the constitutional fortress of American liberty.

Putnam removed his family to Rutland, Worcester county, Massachusetts, early in 1870. His house is yet standing, about ten miles from the birthplace of the grandfather of President Garfield. He returned himself to Rutland when the war was over. He had the noble public spirit of his

day, to which no duty seemed trifling or obscure. For five years he tilled his farm and accepted and performed the public offices to which his neighbors called him. He was representative to the General Court, selectman, constable, tax collector, and committee to lay out school lots for the town; state surveyor, commissioner to treat with the Penobscot Indians, and volunteer in putting down Shay's rebellion. He was one of the founders and first trustees of Leicester Academy and, with his family of eight children, gave from his modest means a hundred pounds toward its endowment.

But he had larger plans in mind. The town constable of Rutland was planning an empire. His chief counsellor in his design was his old leader and friend, George Washington. Washington had been interested in the settlement of the Northwest, and in connecting it with the Atlantic by land and water routes, almost from boyhood. His brothers, Lawrence and Augustine, were members of the first Ohio Company in 1748. He was himself a large land-owner on the Ohio and the Kanawha.

Before the army broke up a petition of two hundred and eighty-eight officers, of which Putnam was the chief promoter, was sent by him to Washington, to be forwarded to Congress, for a grant of lands north and northwest of the River Ohio to the veterans of the army in redemption of the pledges of Congress; and, further, for sales to such officers and soldiers as might choose to become purchasers on a system which would effectually prevent the monopoly of large tracts. A year later Putnam renews his urgent application to Washington for aid in his project, to which he says he has given much time since he left the army. He asks the General to recommend to him some member of Congress with whom he can directly correspond, as he does not like even to hint these things to the delegates from Massachusetts, though worthy men. She is forming plans to sell her eastern lands. Washington answers that he has exerted

every power with Congress that he is master of, and had dwelt upon Putnam's argument for a speedy decision, but Congress adjourned without action.

In 1785 Congress appointed General Putnam one of the surveyors of northwestern lands. He says, in his letter accepting the office, that "a wish to promote emigration from among my friends into that country and not the wages stipulated is my principal motive." He was compelled by his engagements with Massachusetts to devolve the duty upon General Tupper as a substitute. Tupper could not get below Pittsburgh in the season of 1785. He came back to Massachusetts in the winter with such knowledge of the country as he had gained, and reported to Putnam at Rutland on the 9th of January, 1786. The two veterans sat up together all night. At day-break they had completed a call for a convention to form a company. It was to all officers and soldiers of the late war and all other good citizens residing in Massachusetts who might wish to become purchasers of lands in the Ohio country. It was to extend afterward to the inhabitants of other States "as might be agreed on." The convention was held at the Bunch of Grapes, in Boston, March 1, 1786; chose a committee, of which Putnam was chairman, to draft a plan for their organization, and so the Ohio Company was begun. The year was spent in obtaining the names of the associates. They were men of property and character, carefully selected, who meant to become actual residents in the new country. They were men to whom the education, religion, freedom, private and public faith which they incorporated in the fundamental compact of Ohio were the primal necessities of life. In 1787 the directors appointed Putnam superintendent of all their affairs. In the winter everything was ready. Putnam went out from his simple house in Rutland to dwell no more in his native Massachusetts. It is a plain wooden dwelling, perhaps a little better than the average of the farmer's houses of New England of that day. Yet about which of Europe's palaces

do holier memories cling? Honor, and Fame, and Freedom, and Empire, and the Fate of America went with him as he crossed the threshold. The rest of his life is, in large part, the history of Marietta and of Ohio for more than thirty years. "The impress of his character," says his biographer, "is strongly marked on the population of Marietta, on their buildings, institutions, and manners."

The wise and brave men who settled Marietta would have left an enduring mark, under whatever circumstances, on any community to which they had belonged. But their colony was founded at the precise and only time when they could have secured the constitution which has given the Northwest its character and enabled it, at last, to establish in the whole country the principles of freedom which inspired alike the company of the first and second Mayflower. The glory of the Northwest is the Ordinance of 1787. What share of that glory belongs to the men who founded the Northwest? Were your fathers the architects and designers, as well as the builders, of their state? Was the constitutional liberty, which they enjoyed themselves and left to their children, their own conception and aspiration or was it conferred by the Continental Congress?

"A gift of that which is not to be given,
By all the blended powers of earth and Heaven."

What was it that applied the spur to the halting Congress whose inaction the whole power of Washington had failed to overcome? The researches of historical scholars have, within a few years, opened to us for the first time this most interesting chapter of American history.

The firmness and foresight of Maryland forbade her delegates to ratify the articles of confederation until the claims of individual states to the lands north and west of the Ohio River were abandoned for the common benefit. New York set the example. The cession of Virginia was the most marked instance of a large and generous self-denial. It not

only gave to the United States a resource for a large payment on the public debt and a large provision for veteran soldiers, but gave the country its first strictly common and national interest and the first subject for the exercise of an authority wholly national.

The necessity was felt for an early provision for a survey and sale of the territory and for the government of the political bodies to be established there. These two subjects were, in the main, kept distinct. Various plans were reported from time to time. Ten committees were appointed on the frame of government and three on the schemes for survey and sale. Fourteen different reports were made at different times; but from September 6, 1780, when the resolution passed asking the states to cede their lands, until July 6, 1787, when Manasseh Cutler, the envoy of the Ohio Company, came to the door, every plan adopted and every plan proposed, except a motion of Rufus King, which he himself abandoned, we now see would have been fraught with mischief if it had become and continued law.

March 1, 1784, the day Virginia's deed of cession was delivered, Jefferson reported from a committee of which he was chairman an ordinance which divided the territory into ten states, each to be admitted into the Union when its population equaled that of the smallest existing state. He thought, as he declared to Monroe, that if great states were established beyond the mountains they would separate themselves from the confederacy and become its enemies. His ordinance, when reported, contained a provision excluding slavery after 1800. This was stricken out by the Congress. It is manifest, from subsequent events that, under it, the territory would have been occupied by settlers from the South, with their slaves. It would have been impossible to exclude the institution of slavery if it had once got footing. With or without his proviso, the scheme of Mr. Jefferson would have resulted in dividing the territory into ten small slave-holding states. They would have come into the Union with

their twenty votes in the Senate. Their weight would have inclined the scale irresistibly. The American Union would have been a great slave-holding empire. This proposal, so amended, became law April 23, 1784, and continued in force until repealed by the Ordinance of 1787. It contained no republican security except a provision that the government of the states should be republican.

March 16, 1785, Rufus King, at the suggestion of Timothy Pickering, offered a resolve that there should be no slavery in any of the states described in the resolve of 1784. This was sent to a committee of which he was chairman. He reported it back, so amended as to conform to Jefferson's plan for postponing the prohibition of slavery until after 1800, and with a clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves; but it was never acted on.

May 7, 1784, Jefferson reported an ordinance for ascertaining the mode of locating and disposing of the public lands. This was recommitted, amended, and finally adopted. Congress rejected the proposition to reserve lands for religious purposes, but retained a provision for schools. It contained also a clause that the lands should pass in descent and dower, according to the custom of gavelkind, until the temporary government was established.

In 1786 a new committee was raised to report a new plan for the government of the territory. This committee made a report which provided that no state should be admitted from the Western territory until it had a population equal to one-thirteenth of the population of the original states at the preceding census. This would have kept out Ohio till 1820, Indiana till 1850, Illinois till 1860, Michigan till 1880, and Wisconsin till after 1890. The Seventh Congress expired while this report was pending. It was revived in the eighth. The clause which would have so long postponed the admission of the states was probably stricken out, though this is not quite certain. But there was little of value in the whole scheme. It contained no barrier against slavery.

This was the state of things when Manasseh Cutler came into the chamber on the morning of July 6, 1787, bearing with him the fate of the Northwest. He had left Boston on the evening of June 25, where on that day he records in his diary—

“ I conversed with General Putnam, and settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands on account of the Ohio Company.”

He was probably the fittest man on the Continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. It was said just now that Putnam was a man after Washington's pattern and after Washington's own heart. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master in physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct; of courtly manners; a favorite in the drawing-room and in the camp; with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time. During his brief service in Congress he made a speech on the judicial system, in 1803, which shows his profound mastery of constitutional principles.

It now fell to his lot to conduct a negotiation second only in importance in the history of his country to that which Franklin conducted with France in 1778. Never was ambassador crowned with success more rapid or more complete.

On the 9th of July the pending ordinance was committed to a new committee—

Edward Carrington, of Virginia;

Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts;

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia;

John Kean, of South Carolina;

Melancthon Smith, of New York.

They sent a copy of the ordinance which had come over from the last Congress to Dr. Cutler, that he might make

remarks and prepare amendments. He returned the ordinance, with his remarks and amendments, on the 10th. The ordinance was newly modeled and all Cutler's amendments inserted, except one relating to taxation, "and that," he says, "was better qualified." It was reported to Congress on the 11th. The clause prohibiting slavery, which had not been included because Mr. Dane "had no idea the States would agree to it," was, on Dane's motion, inserted as an amendment, and on the 13th the greatest and most important legislative act in American history passed unanimously, save a single vote. But one day intervened between the day of the appointment of the committee and that of their report. Cutler returned the copy of the old ordinance with his proposed amendments on one day. The next, the committee reported the finished plan. But two days more elapsed before its final passage.

The measure providing for the terms of the sale to the Ohio Company was passed on the 27th of the same July. Cutler was master of the situation during the whole negotiation. When some of his conditions were rejected he "paid his respects to all the members of Congress in the city, and informed them of his intention to depart that day, and, if his terms were not acceded to, to turn his attention to some other part of the country." They urged him "to tarry till the next day and they would put by all other business to complete the contract." He records in his diary that Congress "came to the terms stated in our letter without the least variation."

From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution, with its unassailable guaranties for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780 and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre pro-

vision for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all. Cutler, with consummate wisdom, addressed himself, on his arrival, to the representatives of Virginia. Jefferson had gone to France in July, 1784, but the weight of his great influence remained. King was in Philadelphia, where the Constitutional Convention was sitting. It was Carrington, of Virginia, who brought Cutler onto the floor. Richard Henry Lee had voted against King's motion to commit his anti-slavery proviso, but the first mover of the Declaration of Independence needed little converting to cause him to favor anything that made for freedom. William Grayson, of Virginia, early and late, earnestly supported the prohibition of slavery, and, when broken in health, he attended the Virginia Legislature in 1788 to secure her consent to the departure from the condition of her deed of cession, which the Ordinance of 1787 effected. Some of the amendments upon the original ordinance now preserved are in his handwriting. To Nathan Dane belongs the immortal honor of having been the draftsman of the statute and the mover of the anti-slavery amendment. His monument has been erected, in imperishable granite, by the greatest of American architects among the massive columns of the great argument in reply to Hayne. But the legislative leadership was Virginia's. From her came the great weight of Washington, in whose heart the scheme of Rufus Putnam for the colonization of the West occupied a place second only to that of the Union itself. Hers was the great influence of Jefferson, burning with the desire that his country in her first great act of national legislation should make the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence a reality. From her came Carrington, chairman of the committee; Lee, its foremost member; and Grayson, then in the chair of the Congress, who, Mr.

Bancroft says, "gave, more than any other man in Congress, efficient attention to the territorial question, and whose record against slavery is clearer than that of any other Southern man who was present in 1787."

And let us remember with gratitude, on this anniversary, that when, in 1824, the plan to call a convention in Illinois to sanction the establishment of slavery there was defeated by a majority of sixteen hundred votes, it was to Governor Edward Coles, a son of Virginia, the old friend of Jefferson and Madison, that the result was largely due; and when, in 1803, the convention of the Indiana Territory petitioned Congress for the repeal of the sixth clause of the Ordinance of 1787, it was a Virginian voice, through the lips of John Randolph, whose name and blood are so honorably represented here to-day, that denied the request.

The Ohio Company might well dictate its own terms, even in dealing with the far-sighted statesmen of 1787. The purchase and settlement of this large body of the public lands removed from their minds several subjects of deepest anxiety. It afforded a provision for the veterans of the war. It extinguished a considerable portion of the public debt. It largely increased the value of the rest of the public domain. It placed the shield of a settlement of veteran soldiers between the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia and the most dangerous and powerful Indian tribes on the Continent. It secured to American occupation a territory on which England, France, and Spain were still gazing with eager and longing eyes—in which England, in violation of treaty obligation, still held on to her military posts, hoping that the feeble band of our Union would break in pieces. It removed a fear, never absent from the minds of the public men of that day, that the western settlers would form a new confederacy and seek an alliance with the power that held the outlet of the Mississippi. The strength of this last apprehension is shown in the confidential correspondence of Washington. He twice refers to it in his farewell

address—once where he warns the West against “an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power,” and again, where he urges them “henceforth to be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens.”

Congress had nowhere else to look for these vital advantages if the scheme of Putnam and his associates failed. They, on the other hand, would buy all the land they wanted of New York or Massachusetts on their own terms. It is no wonder, then, that the Congress which in seven years had got no further than the Jefferson statute of 1784, and which had struck out of it the anti-slavery proviso, came in four days to the adoption of the Ordinance of '87 with but one dissenting vote.

It will not be expected that I should undertake, within the limits of this discourse, to dwell in detail upon the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787 and the benefit they have conferred upon the region over which they have extended. Known throughout this country wherever American history is known, wherever men value constitutional liberty, they are familiar as household words to the men who are assembled here. They are, in some important respects, distinguished above all the other great enactments which lie at the foundation of human societies. If there be anything for which Daniel Webster is distinguished among great orators, it is the discretion and moderation of his speech. He never sought to create an impression or give an emphasis by overstatement. It was well said of him by another native of New England, whose fame as a great public teacher equals his own: “His weight was like the falling of a planet; his discretion, the return of its due and perfect curve.” Mr. Webster declared, in a well-known passage: “We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern,

has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

The founders of the Northwest and the framers of the Ordinance meant to put its great securities beyond the reach of any fickleness or change in popular sentiment unless by a revolution which should upheave the foundations of social order itself. They made the six articles "Articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, to forever remain unalterable unless by common consent." They were to have the force which the philosophers of that day attributed to the original social compact, to which they ascribed the origin of all human society. Three parties, the original States, the new States, and the people, made the compact. This compact was to attend these communities forever, unalterable save by the consent of all three, under whatever new constitutional arrangements they might come. There is the highest contemporary authority for the opinion that these articles would never be affected by ordinary constitutional changes in the States. "It fixed forever," said Mr. Webster, "the character of the population in the vast regions northwest of the Ohio by excluding from them involuntary servitude. It impressed on the soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than freemen. It laid the interdict against personal servitude in original compact, not only deeper than all local law, but deeper, also, than all local constitutions." These great and perpetual blessings your fathers found awaiting them when they took possession of their new homes, beneficent as the sky, or the climate, or the soil, or the river, to endure so long as the sky shall send down its influence or the Ohio continue to flow.

While a portion of the second article reaffirms the great securities which are of English origin, and are found in Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, the larger part are originally and exclusively American. The student of constitutional law will find there all he will need for an ample

and complete understanding of the difference between the genius of the limited monarchism of England and the genius of American liberty.

For the first time in history the Ordinance of 1787 extended that domain from which all human government is absolutely excluded by forbidding any law interfering with the obligation of good faith between man and man. This provision, adopted afterward in substance in the Constitution of the United States, and thereby made binding as a restraint upon every state, is the security upon which rests at last all commerce, all trade, all safety in the dealings of men with each other. To-day its impregnable shield is over the dealing of sixty millions of people with each other and with mankind.

I have described very imperfectly the education, extending over two centuries, which fitted your fathers for the great drama to be enacted here. Equally wonderful is the series of events which kept the soil of the Ohio territory untouched until they were ready to occupy it. France, in 1755, rejected an offer made her by England that England would give up all her claim west of a line from the mouth of French Creek twenty leagues up that stream toward Lake Erie and from the same point direct to the last mountains of Virginia which should descend toward the ocean. France was to retain Canada and her settlements on the Illinois and Wabash. If this offer had been accepted, the French, who always so skillfully managed the Indians, would have filled the territory with their colonies, and, under whatever sovereignty it had ultimately come, would have impressed their character and institutions on it forever. King George, too, in 1763, at the close of the French war, forbade his governors in America "to grant any warrants of survey or patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic ocean from the west or northwest." This shut out the people of Virginia, with their slaves, from all the territory that now forms Ohio.

Again, the controversies between the States as to title prevented its settlement during the Revolution. The fear of Indian hostilities prevented its settlement during the period Mr. Jefferson's ordinance of 1784 was in force. The votes of the Southern States defeated Mr. Jefferson's proviso, under which slavery would surely have gained a footing, and so left the way open for the total exclusion of slavery three years later.

We are not here to celebrate an accident. What occurred here was premeditated, designed, foreseen. If there be in the universe a power which ordains the course of history, we cannot fail to see in the settlement of Ohio an occasion when the human will was working in harmony with its own. The events move onward to a dramatic completeness. Rufus Putnam lived to see the little colony, for whose protection against the savage he had built what he described as the strongest fortification in the United States, grow to nearly a million of people and become one of the most powerful states in the confederacy. The men who came here had earned the right to the enjoyment of liberty and peace, and they enjoyed the liberty and peace they had earned. The men who had helped win the war of the Revolution did not leave the churches and schools of New England to tread over again the thorny path from barbarism to civilization, or from despotism to self-government. When the appointed hour had come, and

" God uncovered the land
That he hid of old time in the west,
As the sculptor uncovers the statue
When he has wrought his best,"

then, and not till then, the man also was at hand.

It is one of the most fortunate circumstances of our history that the vote in the Continental Congress was substantially unanimous. Without the accompaniment of the Ordinance the Constitution of the United States itself would

have lost half its value. It was fitting that the whole country should share in the honor of that act which, in a later generation, was to determine the fate of the whole country.

We would not forget to-day the brave men and noble women who represented Connecticut and Rhode Island and New Hampshire in the band of pioneers. Among them were Parsons, and Meigs, and Varnum, and Greene, and Devol, and True, and Barker, and the Gilmans. Connecticut made a little later her own special and important contribution to the settlement of Ohio. But Virginia and Massachusetts have the right to claim and to receive a peculiar share of the honor which belongs to this occasion. They may well clasp each other's hands anew as they survey the glory of their work. These two states—the two oldest of the sisterhood—the state which framed the first written constitution, and the state whose founders framed the compact on the Mayflower; the state which produced Washington, and the state which summoned him to his high command; the state whose son drafted the Declaration of Independence, and the state which furnished its leading advocate on the floor; the mother of John Marshall and the mother of the President who appointed him; the state which gave the general, and the state which furnished the largest number of soldiers to the Revolution; the state which gave the territory of the northwest, and the state which gave its first settlers—may well delight to remember that they share between them the honor of the authorship of the Ordinance of 1787. When the reunited country shall erect its monument at Marietta let it bear on one side the names of the founders of Ohio, on the other the names of Jefferson, and Richard Henry Lee, and Carrington, and Grayson, side by side with those of Nathan Dane, and Rufus King, and Manasseh Cutler, beneath the supreme name of Washington. Representatives of Virginia and Massachusetts, themselves in some sense representatives of the two sections of the

country which so lately stood against each other in arms, they will bear witness that the estrangements of four years have not obliterated the common and tender memories of two centuries.

This, also, is one of the great events in the world's history which marks an advance of Liberty on to new ground which she has held. We would not undervalue military achievements. Such a paradox, ridiculous anywhere, would be doubly unbecoming here. We stand by the graves of great soldiers of the war of Independence. This is the centennial of the State within whose borders were born Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and Garfield. The men of the Revolution fought that the principles of the Ordinance of 1787 might become living realities. The great captains of the later war fought that the compact might be kept and forever remain unalterable. The five states of the Northwest sent nearly a million soldiers into the war for the Union, every one of them ready to die to maintain inviolate the fourth article, which declares: "The said territory and the states which may be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made, and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled conformable thereto." These purposes inspired them when they drew their swords. They laid down their swords when these purposes were accomplished.

It is this that makes the birthday of Ohio another birthday of the nation itself. Forever honored be Marietta as another Plymouth. The Ordinance belongs with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. It is one of the three title deeds of American constitutional liberty. As the American youth for uncounted centuries shall visit the capital of his country—strongest, richest, freest, happiest of the nations of the earth—from the stormy coast of New England, from the luxuriant regions of the Gulf, from the lakes,

from the prairie and the plain, from the Golden Gate, from far Alaska—he will admire the evidences of its grandeur and the monuments of its historic glory. He will find there rich libraries and vast museums, and great cabinets which show the product of that matchless inventive genius of America, which has multiplied a thousand fold the wealth and comfort of human life. He will see the simple and modest portal through which the great line of the Republic's chief magistrates have passed at the call of their country to assume an honor surpassing that of emperors and kings, and through which they have returned, in obedience to her laws, to take their place again as equals in the ranks of their fellow-citizens. He will stand by the matchless obelisk which, loftiest of human structures, is itself but the imperfect type of the loftiest of human characters. He will gaze upon the marble splendors of the Capitol, in whose chambers are enacted the statutes under which the people of a continent dwell together in peace, and the judgments are rendered which keep the forces of states and nation alike within their appointed bounds. He will look upon the records of great wars and the statues of great commanders. But, if he know his country's history, and consider wisely the sources of her glory, there is nothing in all these which will so stir his heart as two fading and time-soiled papers, whose characters were traced by the hand of the fathers a hundred years ago. They are the original records of the acts which devoted this nation forever to equality, to education, to religion, and to liberty. One is the Declaration of Independence, the other the Ordinance of 1787.

ORATION

DELIVERED BY

GEORGE F. HOAR,

OF MASSACHUSETTS,

APRIL 7, 1888,

AT

THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL

OF THE

FOUNDING OF THE NORTHWEST

AT

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